1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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The tilling of the ground at home, getting of the fire wood, and pounding of corn in mortars, is frequently done by female parties, much in the manner of those husking, quilting and other *frolics* (as they are called,) which are so common in some parts of the United States, particularly to the eastward. The labour is thus quickly and easily performed; when it is over, and sometimes in intervals, they sit down to enjoy themselves by feasting on some good victuals, prepared for them by the person or family for whom they work, and which the man has taken care to provide before hand from the woods; for this is considered a principal part of the business, as there are generally more or less of the females assembled who have not, perhaps for a long time, tasted a morsel of meat, being either widows, or orphans, or otherwise in straitened circumstances. Even the chat which passes during their joint labours is highly diverting to them, and so they seek to be employed in this way as long as they can, by going round to all those in the village who have ground to till.

When the harvest is in, which generally happens by the end of September, the women have little else to do than to prepare the daily victuals, and get fire wood, until the latter end of February or beginning of March, as the season is more or less backward, when they go to their sugar camps, where they extract sugar from the maple tree. The men having built or repaired their temporary cabin, and made all the troughs of various sizes, the women commence making sugar, while the men are looking out for meat, at this time generally fat bears, which are still in their winter quarters. When at home, they will occasionally assist their wives in gathering the sap, and watch the kettles in their absence, that the syrup may not boil over.

A man who wishes his wife to be with him while he is out hunting in the woods, needs only tell her, that on such a day they will go to such a place, where he will

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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character. Hunting was the primary occupation of men and gardening that of women. Although game did not form a preponderant part of the diet, it was extremely important in that wild animals provided clothing and other nonedible essentials.[91] The game which a man brought home was the property of his wife to do with as she saw fit; conversely, the woman's harvest of corn was "considered as belonging to the husband, who, if he has suffering friends, may give them as much of it as he pleases. . . ."[92] Men also built the dwellings, obtained or made the necessary axes, hoes, canoes, dishes, bowls, and other artifacts.[93] They were also supposed to keep in a constant state of readiness in case of attack, and they appear to have helped clear the land for gardens.[94] The women, in addition to planting, cultivating, harvesting, and storing the garden produce, bore the burden of all the household tasks. They cut and carried the firewood and made the carrying straps and bags, as well as the family clothing, and tanned the skins.[95] The women also carried the household goods when a family was on the trail.[96] De Vries said: ". . .the women are compelled to work like asses, and when they travel, to carry the baggage on their backs, together with their infants. . . ."[97] Mary Jemison said, however:

> Our labor was not severe; and that of one year was exactly similar, in almost every respect, to that of all others, without that endless variety [of white people]. Notwithstanding the Indian women have all the fuel and bread to procure, and the cooking to perform, their task is probably not harder than that of white women. . . .[98]

It should also be added that many of the tasks of the women were accomplished by a co-operative group of relatives, who lightened their labors with feasts and gaiety; the men, on the other hand, were frequently alone when hunting.[99] There were a few individuals who were part-time specialists; these were the wampum makers, other artisans, shamans, and sachems. All of these individuals took part in the basic subsistence activities of their sex.

Annual Round

Important to the understanding of the subsistence activities and the general economy of the Delawares is a discussion of the subsistence cycle or annual round. A. F. C. Wallace has recently investigated this phase of their culture and his conclusions correspond closely to mine, though based on slightly different evidence.[100] In the spring and summer

[91] Pastorius, 1912, p. 385; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-57.

[92] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 158; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 16, agrees on this point.

[93] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-57.

[94] Denton, 1845, p. 6; O. A.; M. B.

[95] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Brickell, 1842, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 16; M. B.

[96] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 158; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 24.

[97] De Vries, 1909, p. 218.

[98] Jemison, 1918, pp. 46-47; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 158, echoed this point of view.

[99] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 158; M. B., J. T., O. A.

[100] Wallace, 1947, pp. 16-18.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

the Indians congregated in their small villages, gardening and, if near the sea or a river, fishing. After they had planted the gardens they regularly visited the Europeans.[106] Following the harvest, and at least in later times after the socioreligious ceremonies climaxed by the Big House Ceremony, the villages were deserted as individual families scattered to their hunting territories. The first fall hunt was for deer and seems to have been communal, perhaps prior to the dispersal to individual hunting grounds. After the deer hunt bears and other game were sought by individual hunters.[108] The men hunted until February or March, depending upon the season. In later times the individual families then went to their sugaring grounds; there the women collected and boiled down the maple sap while the men continued to hunt.[109] In spring they again moved to their villages and planted their crops. Wallace has pointed out, however, that there were some exceptions to the hunting-gardening cycle;[110] different sorts of adjustment by different groups were necessary in the relatively diverse habitat of the Delawares.

Property Concept and Hunting Territories

The concept of private ownership of personal equipment, tools, and the like was well developed among the Delawares. Heckewelder, who had a good grasp of this subject, said:

> There is nothing in an Indian's house or family without its particular owner. Every individual knows what belongs to him, from the horse or cow down to the dog, cat, kitten and little chicken. Parents make presents to their children, and they in return to their parents. A father will sometimes ask his wife or one of his children for the loan of his horse to go out a hunting. For a litter of kittens or brood of chickens, there are often as many different owners as there are individual animals. In purchasing a hen with her brood, one frequently has to deal for it with several children. Thus, while the principle of community of goods prevails in the state, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family. This is attended with a very good effect; for by this means every living creature is properly taken care of. It also promotes liberality among the children, which becomes a habit with them by the time they are grown up.[111]

Although most of Heckewelder's examples were items introduced by Europeans, there seems to be no reason why this sort of property concept was not an early one. This type of ownership is akin to our own concept of property; the "ownership" of other kinds of property was quite distinct from our own.

W. C. MacLeod,[112] utilizing Speck's[113] investigation, has presented a well-documented case for the family ownership of hunting grounds. The purpose of his paper was obviously to support the contentions of

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[106] Denton, 1845, p. 7; Holm, 1834, p. 123; De Rasieres, 1909, pp. 107-8.
[108] De Vries, 1909, p. 223; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 12-13; Loskiel, 1794, p. 78.
[109] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 13.
[110] Wallace, 1947, p. 17.
[111] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 158-59.
[112] MacLeod, 1922, pp. 448-63.
[113] Speck, 1915, pp. 289-305.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER XVI.

Concerning the Dwellings of the American Savage People.

During the summer they have no certain dwellings, but move about here and there around the country. However, in the fall each and every sachem has a house built for himself, which he and his subjects can live in during the winter, and during the summer they sing with the rabbit [and make a] house in every bush.[1] The house which they then build[2] is thus made, namely: first posts [are] dug down into the ground and set [down] securely, on which poles are fastened, the walls and half of the sides of the roof they clothe and cover with bark; the roof up at the ridge, where the smoke is to escape, they make open, an ell on either side of the ridge, all along the house, as long as it may be. And the length of the house they then plan according to the multitude of people [in the clan], that they can all be accommodated under one roof, about 100, 200, or 300 ells in length. But the width is on each side of the fireplace the length of a man, that they can lay lengthwise between the fire and the walls; for they have always the fire made lengthwise along the house, right in the center under the ridge, which burns night and day while the winter lasts. And they have one door only on each gable.[3] In this house

[1] That is: they sleep under a tree.

[2] In the winter.

[3] *En dörr hafwe the allenast på hwar gaffwell.* The chestnut bark was mostly used for the covering of the buildings. Cf. Van der Donck, *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 151, 196. See also Beatty, *Journal* (Lon-

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